123 I was seeking through every means to convince them that they would find dedicated friends among us, when they replied that Teiu Burubê had told them H. M. the Emperor was a friend of the Mundurucu.

159 Teiu Burubê was a Mundurucu who had left the villages many years previously, and returned after a long absence. He presented himself in the maloca of Cabrol elegantly dressed after our fashion. His kinsmen greeted him with delight.

Then he told them that he had been baptized in Rio de Janeiro, that he had taken the name of Martinho de Alcantara, and that H. M. the Emperor had served as his godfather and patron. He found in the maloca of Cabrol various relatives, and in particular a sister who treated him with great devotion. When he had left his native village, at a very young age, he had been accompanied by a brother, and together they had traveled down the Canumã River.

This Mundurucu painted a vivid image of the advantages of civilized life, without moving his kinsmen to renounce their savage existence.

Eventually the change in his way of life made him ill, and he came down with violent fevers.

It was said in the maloca that his elegant clothes had cast an evil spell upon him, so his sister angrily gathered them on the village grounds and set them ablaze.

As he recovered from his illness he met even greater distress, for now he was naked.

He finally died; his sister, who had not forsaken him for an instant, buried him under her own hammock. [100]

XII

Population of the central Mundurucu malocas.

161 It is very difficult, indeed impossible, to furnish an exact 361 census of these Indians, living as they do in malocas situated in inaccessible stretches of bush country.

Furthermore, during the summer months, large numbers of families leave the malocas and build flimsy huts in the heart of the woods, where in their isolation they encounter more abundant game.

It is certain, however, that this tribe is one of the largest and most powerful in the valley of the Amazon. Alcide d'Orbigny hesitated whether to consider it a mere tribe or a nation. It has long been a strongly organized republic. The central malocas, located beyond the active reach of our authorities, enjoy the same boundless freedom as if they formed an independent State.

In face of the impossibility to carry out by myself a strict census, I must rely on the opinion of a citizen who resides in the town of Itaituba and whom I judge to be very competent in this matter. I refer to Lieutenant Joaquim Caetano Corrêa, a wealthy tradesman who was nominated to the post of superintendent of the Tapajoz River Indians by Councillor Sebastião do Rego Barros, President of Pará, in September 1853, and who has exercised this function ever since.

Although this respected citizen has never been to the central villages, he nevertheless entertains close relations with the Mundurucu who live along the banks of the Tapajoz. [101]

Here is the population table furnished by Lt. Joaquim Caetano Corrêa.

NAME OF THE MALOCAS	POPULATION
Daiapone	1,500
Canucupi	2,300
Dairi	2,600
Capipique	2,000
Necodemos	2,100
Aiki (Samauma)	1,500
Acupari	800
Areucé	700
Arebaduri	400
Teiu Curupi	500
Ipanauri	600

Cererepçá	500
Cabrós	500
Imbururiri	350
Macapá	360
Ucuberi	250
Cabetutum	350
Chacorão	700
Airi	300
Bacabal (Mission)	500
Boburé	100
Total	18,910

These figures may be somewhat exaggerated, or at least the population of these malocas may have undergone considerable changes. The village of Chacorão, for example, is now abandoned; that of Boburé is nearly extinct. Though it is certain that nowadays the numbers of strictly savage Mundurucu do not reach [102] 18,000 souls, I am convinced that the old population centers of the tribe, formerly established on the banks of the Upper and Lower Tapajoz, in themselves exceeded this figure by far. These last-mentioned groups settled in the old missions, or incorporated themselves little by little into the Christian population in such a way that their descendants today do not even understand the dialect of the tribe.

XIII

Maloca of Necodemos -- Plan of Mundurucu malocas

Necodemos is located on a hill, in the center of a vast plain, not far from the woods.

In the center of the maloca stands the ekçá or warriors' quarters.

The ekçá consists of an elongated house, about one hundred meters long, roofed with thatch, its whole length open towards the

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
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PRIMITIVE MAN

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MUNDURUCU MOIETIES

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INTRODUCTION

101 THE warrior tribe of the Mundurucú is divided into four chief groups: the Tapajós, the Madeira, the Xingú, and the Juruéna Mundurucú. The Tapajós Mundurucú, numbering about [161] 950 souls, inhabit the Tapajós river country from the Cururu to the Rio das Tropas, these two rivers being affluents of the Tapajós flowing in from the east. According to native tradition, the [197] Wiaunyen, who are related by language to the Tapajós Mundurucú, should be included with them; they live in the region around the source of the Rio Mutum, a tributary of the Tapajós flowing in from the right. I have no data on the population of the Wiaunyen. The Madeira Mundurucú came from the Tapajós in the second half of the eighteenth century and acquired territory for themselves in the State of Amazonas. They were visited by Martius. 101 Nimuendajú estimates their strength at approximately 800 souls. 161 The Xingú Mundurucú are the Kuruáya. They live in small groups of from one to four houses along the uppermost left tributaries of the Igarapé da Flecha, a large easterly tributary of

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
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101 [61] the middle Rio Curuá do Iriry. According to Nimuendajú they number about 120 souls. The Juruéna Mundurucú are also called Njambikwáras.

From the Mundurucú are also supposed to be descended the Guajajára. They were settled on the Rio Gurupi near Cerzedello in 1818. So says Martius.

Tribal Names

[619] a. What do the Tapajós Mundurucú call themselves? A designation for the whole tribe does not exist. When a Mundurucú speaks of his fellow tribesmen, he simply calls them *wcidyc'nyc*,[1] "our own", "our people". The word is compounded of the absolute inclusive pronoun *wcidyc*, "we", and the plural suffix, *nyc*. Thus it has the meaning: "A great many of our own", "a plurality of our own". The Mundurucú language seems to have no word for homo, human being. Expressions like the following are used: "I belong to the Red Arara sib"; "he belongs to the Seringueira-itaúba sib"; "there come the Japu [people of Japu sib]"; "we met people of the *Ikupi*-wasp sib"; "some of the Mutum sib". For the list of sibs, see infra under social organization.

The Madeira Mundurucú, and the Kuruáya, that is, the Xingú Mundurucú, are held by the Tapajós Mundurucú to be relatives

126 [1] The following phonetic symbols are used: $\ddot{e}$ = German *ö* (palatal); $\dot{i}$ = German *ü* (palatal); vowel with tilde = nasalized vowel; $\tilde{e}$ = nasalized $\ddot{e}$; falling diphthongs in which both vowels are pronounced distinctly have small superior second vowel; *c* = German *sch*; $\tilde{n}$ = *ng* (guttural nasal); *r* = dental *r*; *s* = always voiceless; *w* as in English but pronounced with lips closer together; *ẅ* as in English "water"; *x* = German *ch*; *y* as in English "yes". The spiritus lenis (stimmloser Kehlkopfexplosivlaut) occurs always between two vowels, and often before words beginning with a vowel; in these cases it is not indicated in transcription; in other cases it is indicated by *q*. Weak sounds are enclosed in brackets. Colon after vowel = long vowel. Accent is on last syllable, except where otherwise indicated by accent mark (') following vowel.

The palatal vowels $\ddot{e}$ and $\dot{i}$ are acoustically related to German *ö* and *ü*, but they are not identical with them. Nimuendajú writes me (personal letter, 1931): "A genuine ö and ü, such, for example, as occur in German, are found in none of the more than seventy Indian languages which I have heard with my own ears. Up to the present, I have heard these two sounds only in Urupá; but they do not occur even in Torá, which is most closely related to Urupá".

171 But they
881 do have one curious custom in common with their neighbors the Maues. They expose their daughters to continuous fasting and to the smoke in the gable of the hut when the latter pass from childhood to womanhood.

244 In agriculture the Mundrucus have an advantage over others only
[161] in as much as the power of their numerous and warlike tribe (I heard a figure of 18,000 given and even one of 40,000) makes their plantations more secure; also the rather dense population make dependence on hunting and fishing alone unfeasible. They grow some cotton and a great deal of manioc. The flour ground from manioc is packed in
[439] baskets and the wide leaves of palms, spice stalks [Würzschilfe] and heliconias and regularly sold to the mariners in Tapajoz now that they have established friendly relations. In the area near the Brazilians
361 each family lives by itself in a conical hut. Today these are often not built individually in isolated places throughout the forest but are grouped into villages. Those Indians not yet in a neighborhood of whites occupy large, open huts as a community of several families. But even in the
[127] mission I found near their houses the preserved heads of slain enemies and numerous skulls of larger game animals stuck up on poles. Everything about the appearance of these savages made it evident that they consider themselves mighty hunters and warriors and that they strive to maintain their hegemony in the area. To this their name has reference.
101 It is from the Tupi language. Mundrucus, Mondorucus means either: "those who plunder together" (from monda "steal," ru "together," cu, co "plantation, property), or: "those who practice (ico) cutting off (mondoc)", that is to say cutting off heads. Moturicus, from motumun moteryc and ico, means: "the shaker, the thief [Mitnchmer]." [391] Very widespread is the nickname Paiquizé, Paia-kyce, that is "Father Knife, Decapitator." Castelnau (III. 106) lists the Arupás as living among the Mundrucus on both banks of the Arinos, and they are probably identical with the Oropias already mentioned (p. 204, 383) who are also found on the Madeira river.

726 Their military organization is begun in peacetime. Every man capable of bearing arms cuts a notch in a stick that is sent around and by this he pledges his participation in war. In wartime the chief has power of life and death over the individual. That they were in a state of war with the Apiacas was not told me. * For their attacks they

* The Picobyé (in Pohl II. 183) or Paicobejé do not belong here but are a tribe belonging to the Macamecrans.

175 turned on the previously mentioned Parintintins, Parintins
448 (Parauáxtes or Uauvrivait), and recently on the Apiacas above Salto Augusto on the Tapajoz with whom thirty years ago they had been at peace. •

• Lour. da Silva Araujo Amazonas Diccionar. topogr. etc. da Comarca do Alto-Amazonas. Recife 1852. 206.

In 1803 the first aldea of the Mundrucus, S. Cruz, seven days journey above Santarem on the Tapajôz, was founded and since that time the whole tribe has been at peace with the Brazilians. Several [197] of their large villages have been turned into missions and trade with the whites. In S. Cruz, Boim, Pinhel, and the rest of the village on [161] the Tapajôz 1,000 bows (fighting men) were counted, in the mission of Mauhe 1,600, in that of Juruty 1,000. ••

438

•• This tribe is more industrious than any other. It is calculated that the inhabitants of the villages on the Tapajoz produce 6,000 Metzen [one Metze = 1.05 bu.] of manioc flour a year, those of Mauhé 1,500 and those of Canomá 800. This was exported for the most part to Santarem and neighboring places. They are fond of giving large quantities of flour to their priests. In 1819 the Mundrucus of Canamá gathered 900 arrobas of cinnamon and an equal quantity of sarsparilla and sold it. With such a tendency to bourgeois industry they all might have been expected to settle themselves among the whites. At the time of my visit this was hindered by their dislike of public service away from their families. They were pressed to do this kind of work in the cities.

174 A number of considerations, particularly similar customs, organization for war [396] and numerous speech elements, all traceable to the Tupi, make it appear likely to me that these Mundrucûs originally

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
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101 though related linguistically to the *Mundurucú*, are to be regarded as an independent tribe (this volume, p. 221), and that the *Njambikwara* (see *Nambicuara*, p. 361) are not properly classified as *Mundurucú* on any basis.

Martius (1867) reported a group related to the *Mundurucú*, known as the *Guajajara*, who were settled on the Gurupí River near Cerzedello in 1818. The writer has found no further reference to this name in the literature dealing with the *Mundurucú*. (The *Guajajara-Tembé* are a tribe near the east coast of Brazil, page 137.)

According to native tradition, the *Wiaunyen*, at the headwaters of the Mutum River, should be classed as a subtribe of the *Mundurucú*.

The *Mundurucú* refer to themselves as *Weidyénye* (our own, our people) (Kruse, 1934). *Mundurucú* (*Mundurukú*, *Mundurucû*, *Mondurucû*, *Mundrucû*, *Moturicû*, etc.) is the name applied to them by the *Parintintin*, in whose language it denotes a species of ant (Strömer, 1932). A nickname widely used by Neo-Brazilians is *Paiquizé* (*Paikyce*) (Martius, 1867) or *Paikise*, meaning "father knife" or "head-cutter." They are sometimes called *Caras Pretas* ("black face"), in reference to their facial tattooing. (See Kruse (1934), who gives an extensive list of names used by other tribes to designate the *Mundurucú*.)

POPULATION

● 161 In 1887, Martius estimated the *Mundurucú* at 18,000 to 40,000, but Strömer believes that, on the basis of known settlement sites, a maximum population of 10,000 at the period of Contact is indicated. Tocantins (1877) listed 21 villages with populations ranging from 100 to 2,600 and a total population of 18,910. According to Campana, there were at the turn of the century about 1,400 individuals in 37 communities in the Tapajóz area. The largest village had 700 inhabitants, and the smallest less than a dozen. Strömer (1932) found 19 settlements with a total of 1,200 to 1,400 inhabitants in 1931, and fewer still in 1937. Both Campana's and Strömer's figures refer only to the population of the main area of concentration. Kruse gives a population of 950 for the Tapajóz group and 800 for the Canumá group.

HISTORY

1775 1796 The first reference to the *Mundurucú* was published in 1768 when Monteiro Noronha[3] listed the "*Maturucu*" among the tribes on the Mauées River. In 1769, according to Manoel Baena (1885), the *Mundurucú* began to move northward along the Tapajóz River, forcing out or exterminating the *Jaguain* (*Javaim*, *Hy-au-ahim*), a warlike, cannibalistic tribe then occupying the middle Tapajóz. A "*Mondruci*" settlement a day's journey below the mouth of the Arinos was reported by Almeida Serra in 1779. The *Mundurucú* reached and made unsuccessful attacks upon

[3] The writer has not seen all of the sources mentioned in this sketch of *Mundurucú* history; the material here summarized has been in part provided by Dr. Nimuendajú (personal communication).

619 [796] Tribal integration was also aided by the ceremonial cycle, which in nearly all cases brought people from a number of villages together in a host village. Despite the lack of central political controls the Mundurucú can be called a tribe in that they were united by interpersonal connections and were able to act as a political entity under temporary political controls.

The village

361 At present there are eighteen Mundurucú villages having an average population of fifty to sixty people. The [161] balance of the population of 1200 are living in isolated groups usually consisting of one small extended family or, at times, only one nuclear family. It is impossible to judge exactly how many villages there were in earlier times or what their populations were. The shifting settlement pattern makes a plotting of old villages indecisive and the climate and vegetation destroy all vestiges of abandoned villages after about twenty years. The sources are next to useless on this point. Tocantins, one of the few men who reported on a trip to a 19th century Mundurucú village, states that the village of "Necodemus" (Dekodyem is the correct transcription) consisted of five houses and a men's house.[12] He had previously cited the statistics of one Joaquim Correa, then Director of the Indians of the Tapajóe River, to show that this village had a population of 2100, a patent absurdity.[13] The best estimate based on informant data gives a maximum population

12. Tocantins, 1877, p. 103.

13. Ibid., p. 101.

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
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1757 Tapajós to have established a continuing and peaceful relationship with the whites without the destructive traumata which so frequently accompany acculturation. Certain far reaching changes in social structure had taken place, but the tribe maintained its autonomy and physical isolation. The manioc trade had caused an expansion in agricultural production, and warfare was pursued with the mixed motivations of material reward and the taking of trophy heads, the aboriginal rationale for Mundurucú warfare.

361 [161] At this time there were at least twenty Mundurucú villages, having a total population of approximately 5000. The communities were located in the middle of high savannah country, secure from surprise attacks and free of the insects and diseases of the larger, navigable streams. Paths radiated out from each village to the streams, gardens, hunting trails, and to other villages. In this setting, the people led a secure existence. Their location and reputation for ferocity protected them from attack, and the dependable supply of game, fish, garden products, and wild vegetables and fruits gave them security from hunger.

TRIBAL INTEGRATION

619 The many villages of the Mundurucú were politically autonomous but were linked by a series of institutions and culture patterns into a socio-cultural whole. The Mundurucú felt themselves to be a unitary group, and village membership was of less importance in self-identification than was membership in the non-localized clan or the feeling of being one of the "people," as they called themselves. A primary dichotomy in the Mundurucú world view was the separation of humanity into "people" and "outlanders." "Outlanders," with the exception of the whites and the Apiacá Indians, were beings with whom the "people" could have only hostile relationships. This provided the justification for the systematic destruction and dispersal of neighboring tribes by Mundurucú war parties. Tribal membership, however, was a sociological and not a genetic concept. Male and female "outlanders" were killed and decapitated, but their children were taken captive and brought back to the Mundurucú villages. There they were adopted by their captors and given the elaborate body and head tattooing which was the external symbol of identity with the ingroup. The statuses and roles of captives were no different than those of any other Mundurucú.

578 While unrelenting hostility and violence characterized the Mundurucú attitude towards the outside world, the reverse was true of intragroup relations. Conflict between villages was unheard of, and interpersonal aggressions were suppressed. This emphasis upon harmony and noncompetitiveness had a strong functional interrelationship with the socio-economic structure of the villages, in which co-operative production and collectivized consumption were basic.

726 Although different villages did not co-operate in the subsistence economy, warfare and ceremony involved intercommunity organization and participation. Since most statements of function involve a relation of mutual interdependence, it would not beg the question to say that intervillage war parties

1 [ie. The middle of the nineteenth century.--Analyst]

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE MUNDURUCÚ

The Mundurucú, a Tupian speaking people, are presently located in a region of mixed forest and savannah east of the Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil, between the sixth and eighth degrees of south latitude. Highly acculturated and almost assimilated remnants of the tribe are also found on the Secundurí, Abacaxí and Maués Rivers in the adjoining state of Amazonas. The Mundurucú were first reported upon in the latter region in 1768 (Monteiro Noronha, 1862). Their military strength was rapidly impressed upon the colonists of the Amazon Valley, for they commenced a series of strong attacks upon forts along the Amazon River that continued until the colonial government retaliated and in 1795 struck at the Mundurucú homeland on the upper Tapajós River. There is no information on the impact of this attack on the Mundurucú, but they ceased raiding white settlements immediately thereafter and in time became active allies of the colonists and the Portuguese colonial government. So rapidly did the Mundurucú adapt to the whites that by 1817 Ayres de Casal (1817:237) wrote, "Nearly all of the Mundurucú hordes are today our allies, and some already are Christians." But the Mundurucú had by no means become pacific, and raids, often instigated by the whites, were pushed with unabated fury against other Indian tribes.

Shortly after their contact with the white colonists, segments of the Mundurucú were evidently in the process of migrating northward along the Tapajós River and into the country between the Tapajós and Madeira Rivers. The Mundurucú who settled in these more northerly regions soon became assimilated into the neo-Brazilian population. Missions and mission-sponsored reductions were established in their midst at several locales, and their inhabitants intermarried with the Portuguese and mestizo colonists. The population of these Indian reductions declined throughout the century; Coudreau (1897:8) states that the old Mundurucú reduction of Uxituba had 485 Indians in 1833, 343 in 1848, 100 in 1869 and only 50 in 1895. Others, such as Boim and Itaituba, lost their Indian character and became Brazilian towns. By 1885 the process had advanced so far that Charles F. Hartt (1885:117) noted: "The Mundurucú of the Tapajós, below the rapids, are now all civilized and so mixed with the general population that their nationality has in large part been lost."

The balance of the tribe, which remained south, or upstream, of the head of navigation of the Tapajós River, maintained relative autonomy. They conducted trade, at first in manioc flour and later in raw latex, with Brazilian traders who seasonally ascended the river, but no permanent Brazilian settlements were located above the Cachoeira de Maranhão, a series of impassable rapids. At the end of the century, however, the boom in rubber extraction attracted permanent trading posts to the upper Tapajós River, and a Catholic mission was established on the banks of the river.

The rubber boom terminated the isolation of the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós. The population became involved in rubber production for barter, and, although the new economic pursuit did not seriously hamper their tradi-

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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I. HABITAT AND HISTORY

THE MUNDURUCÚ INDIANS are a tribal group of some 1,250 people living on the Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil. The remnants of a formerly much more numerous population, they have maintained a considerable part of their native culture despite more than one and a half centuries of contact with Brazilian society. Linguistically, the Mundurucú are Tupian-speaking, but their language is not mutually intelligible with the so-called classical Tupian of the Brazilian littoral. Rather, they appear to form a Tupian substock in company with the near-by Shipaya, Curuaya, and Juruna Indians of the Xingú River drainage. Other cultural characteristics indicate some discontinuity between the Mundurucú and the bulk of the Tupian-speaking peoples and suggest that Mundurucú history had a relatively independent course from that of the coastal groups. Some of these differences are manifest in mythology and religion.

HABITAT

The Mundurucú habitat is rather different from what might commonly be expected in the Amazon Valley. Although stretches of flat jungle terrain abound, the area is in a northward-reaching finger of the Planalto de Mato Grosso; the topography is characterized by low hills, and the forests are interspersed with rock outcroppings and large stretches of grassy savannah. Actually, the northernmost extension of these central Brazilian highlands overlooks the Amazon behind the city of Santarém at the mouth of the Tapajós River.

The traveler en route to the Mundurucú country usually ascends the Tapajós River from Santarém; recent completion of an emergency landing field some 300 miles upstream can shorten the weeks-long trip to a matter of two hours flight.[1] During the first 150 miles of the water route the steamer or launch carries one up the deep blue and usually tranquil stream between shores that are at first more than 10 miles apart, but which narrow to a width of about one mile. The hills on either side rise to a few hundred feet and are covered with the vegetation characteristic of most areas of terra firma in the Amazon. At the point where the more elevated country and the banks of the river finally merge to form a narrow gap, the Tapajós River plunges furiously over the almost impassible rapids called the Cachoeira de Maranhão. These rapids form an effective block to navigation, and the traveler must debark and by-pass them by truck or on foot. The truck and the road, which are frequently not usable, are the property of a rubber-trading concern that maintains warehouse and commercial facilities at the lower end of the rapids. The company town has a population of less than 1,000, but it is the metropolis and entrepôt of the upper Tapajós; one can continue for 1,000 miles farther upstream without finding a settlement one-fifth that size.

The next stage of the trip is made in a shallow-draft diesel launch, especially built to negotiate rapids. The shores of the lower Tapajós River are lined with pleasant sand beaches and are broken by occasional villages, but the upper reach

[1] The reader will find it convenient to consult the maps on pp. 2 and 3 during the following discussion.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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797 175 rise in rubber prices in the latter part of the 1920's was partly responsible for causing the people of some savannah villages to migrate to the rubber-yielding forests along the Cururú River. Today, some 200 Indians reside at the mission, and another 300 are also clients of the priests. [161]

797 771 Although this is not a study of changes in Mundurucú religion consequent upon proselytization, it is necessary to survey briefly the effects of the mission upon native belief in order to interpret the data to be presented. Catechization is most actively pressed among those Indians on the Cururú River with whom the mission has trade contacts. The other 200 residents of the Cururú River have their closest relations with the local post of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios and only occasionally encounter the priests. The residents of the Tapajós River are far too scattered to be accessible with any frequency to the missionaries; these Mundurucú receive Christian influences through prayer sessions and religious fiestas held at the trading posts and through informal discourse with their Brazilian neighbors. The residents of the savannah villages maintain trade relations with the traders of the Tapajós River, but they are visited once a year by a priest who performs baptisms and remains for two or three days in each village to give religious instruction.

The personnel of the mission have proceeded with some degree of tact and restraint in their conversion of the Mundurucú population. All Mundurucú are technically Catholic, having been baptized, but only a minority have received all the subsequent sacraments. Children in residence at the mission school are administered Communion, and at intervals of several years the Bishop of Santarém visits the mission to hold Confirmation rites for those ready to receive them. All Indians in the villages under mission influence are married in religious ceremonies. These rites generally are the result of considerable pressure by the priests and follow a period of marriage according to native custom. The Indians themselves look upon the public marriage ceremony as most embarassing and shame-provoking and make every effort to avoid it. The sacrament of Extreme Unction is administered only to people who die at the mission itself. Otherwise, the customary funeral rites are followed and the body is interred under the floor of the dwelling.

Each Sunday a number of Mundurucú arrive at the mission for the primary purpose of trading and with the secondary intent of visiting; they are strongly urged to attend Sunday Mass, and most do as a means of keeping in the good graces of the prestigeful and respected missionaries. The superior of the mission has spent more than thirty years among the Mundurucú and speaks the language fluently. All of the Mass except the part universally recited in Latin is given in the Indian tongue. The Mundurucú observe the social division of the sexes while attending church. The front pews are occupied by the nuns and the 40-odd children usually resident at the school, and the remaining seats are occupied by the men. Most remain in a rigid kneeling position throughout the service, with the exception of one or two old men who imitate and even anticipate the ritual postures of the nuns. The women sit cross-legged on the floor of the center aisle; many nurse their children during the rites.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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patrilineal clans, ranked loosely into unnamed phratries and divided almost equally between exogamous moieties, persisted, but the residential basis of patrilineality disappeared. Males formerly remained in the house and village of their birth, but now they were dispersed by the new marriage rule. Clans lost their lineage nucleii and correspondingly suffered a loss of function. Bride service had in a sense become permanent, and the men's house, formerly the dwelling of village bachelors and young men in bride service, became a permanent dwelling of the men.

That is essentially the situation in the contemporary savannah villages. But the social organization of the Cururú River settlements marks a further change from the savannah pattern. Matrilocality is still rather vaguely regarded as the ideal residence rule for all but the sons of chiefs, and the custom is followed in a significant number of cases. Actually, however, many marriages are patrilocal, and there is an increasing tendency for couples to become neolocal eventually.

Furthermore, family life and the social division of the sexes has been drastically modified on the Cururú River. The Cururú villages are the result of migrations by nuclear and extended families from near-by savannah villages and do not represent the simultaneous moves of entire villages. The men's house was never instituted on the Cururú and dwellings were characteristically small. Thus, the Cururú River houses are the residences of one to three related families, whereas those on the savannahs, even under present conditions of depopulation, have an average number of about four families each. Men reside in the same houses as do their wives and children on the Cururú River, and the nuclear family approaches being an independent social and economic unit. Under these conditions the village has little cohesion, and recurrent factionalism results in the proliferation of new and smaller villages. Among these units there are individual ties of marriage and kinship, but the mission provides almost the only context in which the residents of different villages interact in a group.[13]

Other factors have modified Mundurucú social structure and religion. The population is probably about one fourth of what it was 100 years ago;[14] this has resulted not only in greatly reduced villages and households, but it has decreased the number of shamans. Other influences have aggravated this decline. The end of warfare did much to devitalize the Mundurucú and to promote the growing disinterest in the native culture. It also eliminated a whole range of religious ceremonies that formed part of the head-hunting complex. Finally, there has been a profound shift in subsistence base among those Mundurucú who have moved to the shores of the Tapajós and Cururú rivers. In contrast to the savannah dwellers, who are vigorous hunters, these Indians depend primarily upon fish for protein. This has significance for the religious concepts and activities centered on the animal world and hunting.

[13] The respective social and economic organizations of savannah and Cururú River villages are compared and analyzed with reference to the ecology of rubber collection in another work. (Murphy, 1954.)

[14] According to some sources, this decline has been even greater. Martius (1867, p. 390) estimated the Mundurucú population to be 40,000 in 1819, and Tocantins (1877, p. 101) calculated their number to be 18,910 in 1875.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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THE SETTING

The Mundurucú Indians live in the State of Pará, Brazil, in a region east of the Tapajós River between 6° and 7½° S lat. Other members of the tribe, now largely assimilated into the rural Brazilian population of the Amazon Valley, live north and west of this region on the lower reaches of the Tapajós River and on the Maué-Assú, Secundurý, and Abacaxís rivers; the latter three are tributaries of a channel of the Madeira River.

The Mundurucú are usually classified as a Tupian-speaking group, although the linguistic relationship has been described by Curt Nimuendajú as remote.[1] Within this general Tupian language family, however, the Mundurucú language has its closest genetic links with the speech of the Curuaya Indians of the Xingú River. The affinity between Curuaya and Mundurucú was sufficiently close for Rev. Albert Kruse, an anthropologically minded missionary, to classify the former as a regional subgroup of the latter.[2] This classification, and also Kruse's identification of the Nambikuara as the "Juruena Mundurucú" are erroneous.[3] The Mundurucú originally were an autonomous tribe that had little or no political relations with other native groups. Their territory at the time of their first recorded contact with the whites in the latter part of the eighteenth century was in the described region east of the Tapajós; their occupation of the waters of the lower Madeira and Tapajós rivers was the result of a migration that occurred after their contact.

The present-day Mundurucú population consists of about 1,250 people, a considerable decline from past times. Although the population figures of early explorers and chroniclers are generally too high, we may get some idea

[1] Nimuendajú, 1938, p. 975.
[2] Kruse, 1934, p. 51.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

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of the extent of the population from the German explorer Karl F. P. von Martius's figure of 18,000 to 40,000 Mundurucú in 1819 and from the Brazilian traveler Antonio Tocantini's calculation of 18,910 in 1875. Henri Coudreau, a French explorer, reported the Mundurucú population of the upper Tapajós River to be 1,429 in 1895; this estimate is undoubtedly more realistic than the previous two, but it is probably too low, for it is unlikely that the Mundurucú should have lost only 200 of their number in the past half-century. My own calculation of the number of Mundurucú in the upper Tapajós area in the mid-nineteenth century is approximately 5,000. This figure is based on the number of villages at that time—about 25—and their probable average populations—about 200 each; it is admittedly a guess.

The Mundurucú enjoy a solid position of importance in the history of the Amazon Valley. Now friendly and docile rubber collectors and horticulturists, they were once the most warlike tribe of the region. A series of attacks on Portuguese settlements on the Amazon brought retaliation by the colonial troops in 1795, and thereafter the Mundurucú were the friends and military allies of the whites. The capitulation of the Mundurucú was a recognition of both superior force and the material advantages to be derived from intercourse with the whites. The Mundurucú continued their pursuit of warfare against other tribes, although occasionally as mercenaries of the colonists. Their special fame derives from headhunting, one of the major goals of their wars.

Some customs and institutions might be mentioned that distinguished the Mundurucú from their Tupian neighbors. The Mundurucú have never manufactured any of the common intoxicants of the region, although they are now fond of alcoholic beverages. In the sphere of material

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tentions of the Mundurucú had already shifted to the Arara Indians, with similar results. In addition to their activity in quelling hostile Indians, the Mundurucú also assisted the Portuguese authorities in the revolution of the Cabanas in 1835–1836. This aid consisted mainly of mop-up operations conducted against the rebels after the strength of the revolt was broken.

With friendly and mutually profitable relations established through coöperation in warfare and continued within the framework of a social and economic system relating Mundurucú and Brazilians through trade, the tribesmen who moved to the Madeira and lower Tapajós became progressively assimilated into Amazonian society. In the latter region, Mundurucú society was losing its boundaries and cohesiveness by the middle of the nineteenth century. Bates reported that in 1852 the Mundurucú living on the Cuparí River, an affluent of the lower Tapajós, had recently abandoned village life and were scattered for six or seven miles along the river in twenty to thirty houses.[16] Most of these houses were of the Brazilian type or transitional to it. Few people were tattooed, all were clothed, and some spoke Portuguese in addition to their native Mundurucú. The Indians were under the control of Brazilian "captains of workers" on the lower Tapajós. Ostensibly, the duty of the latter was to supply crews for trading boats, but the Indians were also exploited by the captains for their own profit. Mundurucú society was becoming fragmented throughout the lower Tapajós region, for Bates reported the Santa Cruz mission to contain only thirty to forty families in 1852,[17] and by about 1880 it was a caboclo village. Similarly, Coudreau states that the population decline in the mission village of Uxituba, near modern Itaituba, was as follows: 1833, 485 Mundurucú; 1848, 343;

[16] *Ibid.*, 1863, p. 240.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 225.

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1889, 100; 1895, 50.[18] The remaining fifty had already lost their identity as Mundurucú or as Indians. Hartt likewise reported in 1885 that "the Mundurúcú of the Tapajós, below the rapids, are now all civilized and so mixed with the general population that their nationality has in great part been lost."[19]

On the Madeira waters, much the same process ran its course. In 1865, Louis Agassiz, the naturalist, and his wife traveled on the Paraná-Mirim and the lower part of the Maué-Assú River. On the latter stream they found a Mundurucú village consisting of two parallel rows of houses with a Catholic church at one end of an open square.[20] At the time of their visit the population was scattered in the forest where they were working in their gardens and collecting forest products. The full population gathered only three or four times a year for festivals. Only a few Indians spoke Portuguese, according to Mrs. Agassiz,[21] although there were undoubtedly more bilinguals who preferred not to disclose the fact. Most of the people lacked the characteristic Mundurucú tattooing, and all wore clothes. William Chandless, an English explorer who visited the region only a few years later, reported that the Mundurucú "are civilized, and live in families not as in tribal life."[22] They were primarily engaged in the planting of tobacco and the collection of *guaraná*, sarsaparilla, and *copaiba* oil. The movement of people from the savannahs of the Tapajós to the upper Secundurý River was apparently still continuing, for in 1870 Chandless reported "The Indians of the Rio de Canumá, as far as I went, are much like those on the Maué-assú: higher up the tattooed ones

[18] Coudreau, 1897, p. 8.
[19] Hartt, 1885, p. 117.
[20] Agassiz, 1868, p. 308.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 312.
[22] Chandless, 1870, p. 434.

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is usually used, because it is navigable to a point only five hours from the village. From the Cabitutú River port of Cabruá which consists of a house and clearing on the river bank, the path to the village winds through a belt of gallery forest of several miles depth. After crossing a few minor streams that flow into the Cabitutú, the path emerges into an open savannah and gently climbs for about three miles until the crest of the height of land between the Cabruá and Cabitutú rivers is reached. Cabruá is at this point surrounded by a belt of underbrush and low trees that have grown from cast-off seeds and have been fertilized by human waste.

Three hundred yards away at the base of the hill on which the village is built is a small stream and a strip of bordering gallery forest only two hundred yards wide. The stream rises from springs a few miles away and its waters are clear, pure, and cool. People draw their water here, wash clothes, and bathe—the Mundurucú are personally very clean and perform their ablutions at least twice daily.

The village is in open country, but large expanses of deep, virgin forest are nearby. Paths radiate outward in all directions from the village, leading to the stream, the port, other villages, and to the forest. The forest itself is criss-crossed with trails used for hunting; others lead to the gardens. The latter are generally no more than 45 minutes walk from the village. This is considered a rather long trip, because the women must carry their harvest in burden baskets back to the village. Land is not unlimited in the environs of Cabruá; stretches of forest are subject to minor inundation in the rainy season, and large areas are sandy and horticulturally worthless savannah. The village, then, must be moved at long intervals. Since contemporary Cabruá has only 67 inhabitants, there is no great pressure on land. Houses age and fall into disrepair rapidly, how-

/2 cont./

*241 resettled on the Maué-assú River /Maués-Guassú?/ and in the former
[195] mission of Vila Nova da Rainha in 1800 and 1803 respectively, he says that they "... showed little inclination to prepare gardens for manioc flour." (3)

3. Monteiro Baena, 1843: 283.

Later, Martius, in his more extensive report on the Mundurukú, does not mention qualitative cultivation but refers merely to the quantitative production of the gardens, i.e., he alludes to the large volume of manioc flour produced by the Tapajós Mundurukú, but /3/ he is not familiar with, or at least does not mention, the plant varieties they cultivate, although they undoubtedly raised more than the cotton and manioc roots he mentions. He attributes the quantitative development to the power and warring strength of the tribe, [199] which thus protected its gardens against the attacks, thefts, and raids frequently carried out by other tribes, especially the Mura. Martius speaks as follows: "In the arts of agriculture, the Mundurucú merely appear to be ahead when compared with the others, while /actually/ the power of the populous and warlike tribe ... makes the gardens [16] safer, and because the somewhat dense population can no longer de- [248] pend exclusively on hunting and fishing. They plant a little cotton [251] and a lot of manioc roots, the flour of which, packed in baskets and [434] large palm leaves ...., they have been selling to the boatmen of the [194] Tapajós ever since they established peaceful contact." (4)

4. Martius, 1867: 390: "In den Kuensten des Landbaus scheinen die Mundurukú nur insoweit Andern voranzustehen, als die Macht des zahlreichen und kriegerischen Stammes ... den Pflanzungen mehr Sicherheit verleiht, und die etwas gedraengtere Bevoelkerung nicht mehr bloss von Jagd und Fischerei abhaengig seyn kann. Sie bauen